

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 ACDA-12 CIAE-00 INR-07 IO-13  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 EB-08 NRC-05 OES-07 SOE-02  
DODE-00 DOE-11 SS-15 SP-02 PM-05 COME-00 LAB-04  
SIL-01 TRSE-00 /116 W  
-----015255 141008Z /15

P R 140647Z JAN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0203  
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN  
AMCONSUL DURBAN  
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG POUCH

S E C R E T PRETORIA 0255

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2  
TAGS: SF, PDEV  
SUBJECT: US GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN SOUTH AFRICA

REF: (A) STATE 291277, (B) STATE 295549

1. COUNTRY TEAM HAS REVIEWED STATEMENT OF US FOREIGN  
POLICY GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN SOUTH AFRICA AS REQUESTED  
IN PARA 3 OF REFTEL A. WE HAVE INTRODUCED A VARIETY  
OF CHANGES AIMED PRINCIPALLY AT SHARPENING THE FOCUS  
OF THE GOALS AND DELETING REFERENCES TO COURSES OF ACTION  
WHICH WOULD BE BETTER LEFT TO DISCUSSION IN THE OVERVIEW  
AIRGRAM (DUE FEBRUARY 15).

2. TRANSMITTED BELOW IS OUR RECOMMENDED REVISION OF THE  
STATEMENT. OUR COMMENTS AND OUR RATIONALE FOR PROPOSED  
MODIFICATIONS ARE PROVIDED IN PARENTHESES.

3. BEGIN TEXT:  
AMBASSADOR'S GOALS AND OBJECTIVES -- SOUTH AFRICA  
I. AVOIDANCE OF RACIAL CONFLICT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA  
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NAMIBIA  
-- PERSUADE THE SAG TO GRANT INDEPENDENCE TO NAMIBIA  
ON A BASIS ACCEPTABLE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY  
AND TO DESIST FROM ADOPTING ITS OWN NAMIBIA  
"SOLUTION." (WE WOULD DELETE "BASED ON ETHNIC  
SEPARATION" AS BEING LIMITATIVE. THERE ARE OTHER  
ELEMENTS OF A SOUTH AFRICAN SOLUTION THAT WOULD BE

UNACCEPTABLE.)

-- (WE RECOMMEND DELETION OF THE SECOND TICK OF THE DEPARTMENT'S DRAFT BECAUSE WE THINK IT IS UNNECESSARY FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS PARTICULAR EXERCISE TO DESCRIBE THE ELEMENTS OF AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. MOREOVER, IF WE INCLUDE ONE OR TWO SUCH ELEMENTS, WE SHOULD MENTION THE OTHERS AS WELL.)

-- ENCOURAGE SWAPO TO ACCEPT A POLITICAL SOLUTION BASED ON UNITED NATIONS SUPERVISION AND CONTROL OF ELECTIONS TO A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WHICH WILL DETERMINE THE FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF NAMIBIA. (WE SUGGEST THAT THIS IS A PRECISE STATEMENT OF OUR OBJECTIVES WITH RESPECT TO SWAPO.)

RHODESIA

-- PERSUADE THE SAG TO USE ITS LEVERAGE ON THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT TO AGREE TO AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT BASED ON MAJORITY RULE AND FAIR ELECTIONS OPEN TO ALL PARTIES. (NO CHANGE.)

-- SEEK TO PREVENT SOUTH AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR OR ACQUIESCENCE IN A SETTLEMENT WHICH DOES NOT INCLUDE PARTICIPATION BY ALL THE PRINCIPAL NATIONALIST GROUPS. (RATHER THAN REFER SIMPLY TO AN "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT", WE SUGGEST IT IS PREFERABLE TO DEFINE MORE PRECISELY WHAT IT IS WE DO NOT WANT SOUTH AFRICA TO SUPPORT. WE ALSO PROPOSE DELETION OF THE CLAUSE JUSTIFYING THIS AIM BECAUSE IT IS UNNECESSARY AND BECAUSE SUCH

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JUSTIFICATIONS ARE NOT USED ELSEWHERE IN THE STATEMENT.)

SOUTH AFRICA

-- PRESS THE SAG AND ENCOURAGE OTHER ELEMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA TO UNDERTAKE A PROGRESSIVE ELIMINATION OF INSTITUTIONALIZED POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. (WE HAVE ADDED "OTHER ELEMENTS" BECAUSE, IN ADDITION TO THE SAG, THERE ARE OTHERS, SUCH AS THE PRESS, ACADEMIA, BUSINESS COMMUNITY, CHURCH GROUPS, AND TRADE UNIONS, WHICH CAN EXERT INFLUENCE TOWARD ELIMINATION OF INSTITUTIONALIZED DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTH AFRICA. DELETION OF REFERENCE TO WORKING THROUGH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER IS RECOMMENDED BECAUSE THERE ARE MANY ADDITIONAL MEANS WE WILL WANT TO USE IN SEEKING TO ACHIEVE OUR PURPOSES AND, IN ANY EVENT, IT IS PREFERABLE TO DEAL WITH THE MECHANICS OF IMPLEMENTATION IN OUR OVERVIEW.)

-- PERSUADE THE SAG AND OTHER INFLUENTIAL ELEMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA, BOTH BLACK AND WHITE, TO PURSUE SERIOUS DIALOGUE ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE. (THIS REVISION APPEARS TO US CLEARER AND MORE PRECISE. AGAIN, "MAKING KNOWN OUR ASSESSMENT" FALLS INTO THE AREA OF METHODS OF IMPLEMENTATION. SINCE DISCUSSION

OR DIALOGUE REQUIRES ACTION BY MORE THAN THE SAG ALONE, IT SEEMS TO US APPROPRIATE AND DESIRABLE TO INCLUDE "OTHER INFLUENTIAL ELEMENTS.")

## II. PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

-- PREVENT SOUTH AFRICA FROM DEVELOPING NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND BRING ABOUT FULL SOUTH AFRICAN ACCEPTANCE OF NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS AND INTERNATIONAL CONTROLS ON ALL THEIR NUCLEAR PROGRAMS. (NO CHANGE.)

-- SECURE SOUTH AFRICA'S ADHERENCE TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY. (SOUTH AFRICA'S ADHERENCE TO THE NPT IS DISTINCT GOAL AND A HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT ONE WORTH SPECIFIC MENTION. THE CALL IN THE DEPARTMENT'S DRAFT FOR INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION IN THE EFFORT TO GAIN

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SOUTH AFRICAN ACCEPTANCE OF SAFEGUARDS IS IMPORTANT, BUT IT IS ONLY ONE OF THE AVAILABLE MEANS WHICH WE CONSIDER BETTER LEFT TO ENUMURATION AND DISCUSSION IN THE OVERVIEW.)

## III. ENHANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS ENVIRONMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

-- PERSUADE THE SAG TO CHANGE ITS OPPRESSIVE SECURITY LAWS AND TO CEASE INHUMANE TREATMENT AND KILLING OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

-- URGE THE SAG TO RESPECT FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND TO CEASE DIRECT AND INDIRECT INTIMIDATION OF OPPOSITION MEDIA.

-- CONVINCE THE SAG TO MODIFY THE INHUMANE LIMITATIONS ON FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WHICH SEPARATE FAMILIES AND DEPRIVE INDIVIDUALS OF THE RIGHT TO DECIDE WHERE THEY WILL LIVE AND WHAT NATIONALITY TO CHOOSE. (WE PROPOSE DELETION OF THE FIRST TWO TICKS IN THE DEPARTMENT'S DRAFT OF THIS SECTION AS BEING AMONG THE METHODS TO BE EMPLOYED IN SERVING THESE ENDS. WE WILL DEAL WITH THOSE METHODS IN THE OVERVIEW.)

## IV. IMPROVEMENT IN THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF LIFE OF THE BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN POPULATION

(WHILE OUR EMPHASIS FALLS ON THE URBAN BLACK, WE THINK OUR FORMULATION REFLECTS THE BROADER SCOPE OF OUR CONCERNS. OUR FURTHER SUGGESTION, AS INDICATED BELOW, IS THAT WE BREAK DOWN AND REVISE THE TICK UNDER THIS HEADING TO HIGHLIGHT MORE CLEARLY OUR PRINCIPAL AIMS IN THIS AREA.)

-- STIMULATE PROGRESSIVE IMPROVEMENT IN BLACK EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

-- ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK LABOR UNIONS AND THEIR ACCEPTANCE BY EMPLOYERS.

-- PERSUADE US FIRMS TO ADOPT FAIR AND EQUAL EMPLOYMENT

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PRACTICES AND MONITOR PERFORMANCE IN THIS REGARD.  
-- COOPERATE WITH OECD IN ESTABLISHING A COMMON CODE  
OF EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES.

V. CONFORMITY OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH USG POLICY  
-- ASSURE THAT OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA  
ARE CONDUCTED IN A MANNER WHICH SUPPORTS OUR POLICY.  
(THIS APPEARS TO US TO BE A PRECISE STATEMENT OF OUR  
AIM. THE MEANS OF ATTAINING IT WILL BE TAKEN UP IN  
OUR OVERVIEW.) BOWDLER

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## Message Attributes

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